ON THE MOVE: A MIXED METHODS STUDY OF HOMELESSNESS AND MIGRATION AMONG INDIGENOUS AND NON-INDIGENOUS YOUTH

Report 1: Literature Review

FROM EMERGENCY RESPONSE TO EARLY DETECTION, INCLUSION, AND PREVENTION

by

Kevin FITZMAURICE, PhD

Carol KAUPPI, PhD

Henri PALLARD, JD, D^{oct}

Michael HANKARD, PhD

Phyllis MONTGOMERY, PhD

David NEWHOUSE, PhD

Social justice / Justice sociale   Centre for Research in Social Justice and Policy
Centre de recherche en justice et politique sociales

Laurentian University
Université Laurentienne

On the Move: A Mixed Methods Study of Homelessness and Migration among Indigenous and Non-Indigenous Youth. Report 1: Literature Review—From emergency response to early detection, inclusion, and prevention.

How to cite this document:

Fitzmaurice, K, Kauppi, C, Pallard, H, Hankard, M, Montgomery, P and Newhouse, D. **(**2021). *On the Move: A Mixed Methods Study of Homelessness and Migration among Indigenous and Non-Indigenous Youth. Report 1: Literature Review—From Emergency Response to Early Detection, Inclusion, and Prevention*. Prepared for Making the Shift: Youth Homelessness Social Innovation Lab, York University, Toronto, Ontario. Centre for Research in Social Justice and Policy, Laurentian University, Sudbury, Ontario.

Centre for Research in Social Justice and Policy Laurentian University 935 Ramsey Lake Road Sudbury ON P3E 2C6	Centre de recherche en justice et politique sociales Université Laurentienne 935, chemin du lac Ramsey Sudbury (Ontario), P3E 2C6
Tel. 705-675-1151, ext. 5156 Fax 705-671-3832	Tél. 705-675-1151, poste 5156 Télec. 705-671-3832
homeless@laurentian.ca www.lul.ca/homeless	sansabri@laurentienne.ca www.lul.ca/sansabri

Table of Contents

List of boxes

1. Scope and Method

The following search terms and keywords were used in this search: homeless, precarious housing, housing instability, inadequate housing, youth, adolescents, street youth, street-involved youth, migrant, migration, Canada, Ontario, Northern Ontario, rural, remote, Indigenous.

The following data bases were used in this search: Academic OneFile, CINHAL, Cochrane, EBSCOHost, JSTOR, Native Health Database, Medline Ovid, OVID Nursing Journals, Proquest Nursing and Allied Health, Proquest Platform Databases, PsychARTICLES, PsychINFO, PubMed, and Sage Journals. The sources used include literature on youth homelessness published between 1990 and 2020. A total of ninety-six sources were referenced in this literature review.

2. Definitions of Youth Homelessness

Definitions of Homelessness

Utilizing a sound definition of homelessness is vital to the success of any research project as definitions often limit the groups and individuals included in a study. Too often, homelessness is defined in a way that misinterprets or equates it with literal homelessness (Eyrich-Garg, Callahan O'Leary & Cottler, 2008). Furthermore, definitions often minimize the scope of the problem by concentrating on those who are publicly and visibly homeless (Amore, Baker & Howden-Chapman, 2011).

The European Observatory on Homelessness (EOH) developed a definition that could be used by various countries to guide research on homelessness (Edgar & Meert, 2005). The European Union's definition has been termed the European Typology on Homelessness and Housing Exclusion (ETHOS) and it has been used since 2005 in member countries. Edgar and Meert (2005) explain that ETHOS is based on three domains that can reveal states of homelessness and housing exclusion. The three domains consider physical (habitability of the dwelling or space), legal (security of occupation or legal title) and social (provision of privacy and enjoyment of social relations) aspects. People are considered to be experiencing housing exclusion or homelessness when there is a deficiency in one or more of these domains.

Amore et al. (2011) recognized that the conceptual basis of ETHOS relating to the physical, legal and social domains is a positive attribute; nevertheless, in a critical review of this definition, Amore et al. (2011) identified an inconsistency within the ETHOS definition in that it does not consider all cross-combinations of challenges with the physical, legal and social dimensions. According to Amore et al. (2011), housing exclusion is defined as an inadequacy in any one of the physical, legal or social domains and homelessness is defined as inadequacy in any two or more of these domains. It is notable that ETHOS includes six additional categories of insecure and inadequate housing that are recognized forms of housing exclusion. These categories include situations such as living temporarily with friends or family members, illegally occupying land, living with a threat of eviction or violence, living in non-standard structures (e.g., mobile home or temporary structure), and living in substandard or overcrowded housing. These categories are particularly relevant to the understanding of the situation of Indigenous people in Canada, many of whom live in multigenerational, overcrowded housing in need of major repairs (Anaya, 2014) and housing without running water or indoor facilities (Robson, 2008). As noted by an interdisciplinary alliance of Canadian researchers, people who were vulnerably housed and those who were homeless had the same physical and mental health challenges (REACH[3], 2010). The research team concluded that instead of two different groups, rather, there is one large, extremely disadvantaged group that shifts between the experiences of being vulnerably housed and that of homelessness (2010). Our project on youth homelessness is guided by this perspective.

Research on homelessness is also affected by subjective interpretations of the meaning and application of the term *homeless*. Eyrich-Garg et al. (2008) noted that some people who meet standard definitions of homelessness do not define themselves as homeless. For example, in their study in the USA of 339 women, only a third of those who were marginally housed viewed themselves as homeless. The findings of this study indicated that a reliance on objective measures of homelessness (e.g., sleeping on the streets, staying in shelters) may result in a loss of data and errors in enumeration. The temporal aspects of homelessness also affect definitions of homelessness. According to Eyrich-Garg et al. (2008), people are less likely to view themselves as homeless within the first few months of a homeless episode.

Much research on homelessness has not taken into account forms of hidden homelessness, which can encompass a wide range of living circumstances. Gaetz, Donaldson, Richter and Gulliver (2013) acknowledge that hidden homelessness includes couch surfing, transitional housing, private sector accommodation such as motels, or institutional settings

(prison or hospital). Moreover, in calling for more targeted research on youth experiences with couch surfing as part of their summary analysis of its relationship to homelessness, Curry et al. (2017) draw on McLoughlin's (2013) definition of couch surfing as a young person's experience of moving from one temporary living situation to another without the security of parental home support.

Hidden homelessness may describe circumstances that constitute a departure from the housing norm such as living temporarily and not through choice with friends or family members, living in hotels, hostels for homeless people, rented rooms, mobile homes, or makeshift shelters (Marpsat, 2005). Goldberg (1997, p. 96) defined hidden homeless families as those that "double up illegally with other families." Reeve and Batty (2011) noted that single homeless people in the UK comprise a neglected, poorly understood subgroup that lives in squats, on the sofas of friends, in mobile homes, tents, hostels, prisons or hospitals, or outdoors. Some hidden homeless individuals live in uninhabited structures such as sheds, cars, or tents (Grodzinski et al., 2011). Kauppi et al. (2017) also found that people in rural communities live in a wide range of circumstances, many of which constitute forms of hidden homelessness.

A focus on Indigenous perspectives on homelessness points towards additional factors that are important in recognizing homelessness amongst Indigenous people. Thistle's (2017) definition of Indigenous homelessness is holistic and does not focus exclusively on housing. Thistle defines homelessness amongst Indigenous people as

> […] a human condition that describes *First Nations, Métis* and *Inuit* individuals, families or communities lacking stable, permanent, appropriate housing, or the immediate prospect, means or ability to acquire such housing. Unlike the common colonialist definition of homelessness, Indigenous homelessness is not defined as lacking a structure of habitation; rather, it is more fully described and understood through a composite lens of Indigenous worldviews. These include: individuals, families and communities isolated from their relationships to land, water, place, family, kin, each other, animals, cultures, languages and identities. Importantly, Indigenous people experiencing these kinds of homelessness cannot culturally, spiritually, emotionally or physically reconnect with their Indigeneity […] (Thistle 2017, 6).

Thistle's definition of is based on 12 dimensions: (1) historic displacement homelessness, (2) contemporary geographic separation homelessness, (3) spiritual disconnection homelessness, (4) mental disruption and imbalance homelessness, (5) cultural

disintegration and loss homelessness, (6) overcrowding homelessness, (7) relocation and mobility homelessness, (8) going home homelessness, (9) nowhere to go homelessness, (10) escaping or evading harm homelessness , (11) emergency crisis homelessness, and (12) climatic refugee homelessness. These dimensions are helpful in understanding the multiple interacting factors that have led to the high rates of homelessness among Indigenous people, including youth.

Drawing upon existing definitions of homelessness from the Canadian Observatory on Homelessness (COH, 2012), the EOH (FEANTSA, 2005), Amore et al. (2008), and Thistle (2017) it must be recognized that homelessness is complex. In a recent review of definitions of homelessness for the Government of Canada, Echenberg and Munn-Rivard (2020) noted that multiple definitions of homelessness exist within Canada and internationally, yet definitions are important because they can determine the extent and nature of it as well as the characteristics of those affected and how to ameliorate the problem. In 2008, Zerger, Strehlow, and Gundlapalli stated that there was a bias in research on homelessness toward individuals in metropolitan areas who use services. In contrast, little research had been conducted to explore hidden homelessness amongst youth who were couch surfing or otherwise doubling up with friends or living in substandard forms of housing in both urban and rural contexts. This observation from 2008 applies to the present with regard to youth homelessness in northern Ontario. We argue that particular types of living circumstances may be more prevalent in rural and northern areas than in urban centres. As recommended by the EOH and with a view to the interrelated and complex understandings of Indigenous homelessness, our study will take into account the physical, legal, social as well as the emotional and spiritual dimensions of living circumstances. These dimensions, as well as forms of hidden homelessness, will be incorporated into this study of youth homelessness in rural and northern areas in Ontario. Our definition of youth includes adolescents and young people up to 24 years of age.

3. INTRODUCTION

Emerging over the last several decades, youth homelessness has developed into a significant social challenge in Canada. Not including those who do not access the shelter system, it has been estimated that about 200,000 Canadians experience homelessness annually; about 30,000 are homeless on any given night. About 35,000 (20 percent) of the

homeless population using shelters are youth between the ages of 16 to 25, and a further 1% are under 16 (Gaetz 2014).

Youth homelessness is a broad-based, structural, and systemic social challenge that is not the result of an isolated, sectoral failure but rather a combined experience of interrelated conditions across individual, family, and wider community relations combined with institutional failures, and larger structural barriers. A generalized lack of access to affordable and sustainable housing along with experiences with the justice and the child welfare systems, particularly foster care, are generally understood to be the most prominent, driving factors behind youth homelessness. Considered as both possible causes as well as outcomes of being homeless are the related experiences of victimization and trauma, Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD), substance use and abuse, poor nutrition, and limited access to primary healthcare, mental health, and other services.

Given the complex nature of youth homelessness involving all levels of society, there are a multitude of possible pathways both into and out of youth homelessness. Given this, the literature points to the importance of integrated, individualized, and youth driven intervention plans for addressing the issue. The literature further highlights the generalized need for services which enhance young people's abilities to seek out and maintain housing and formal employment, to avoid victimization, and to encourage mental health and substance use engagement and treatment—which should be widely available as well as trauma informed. Family and peer support overall has been identified in a number of studies as contributing to preventing, ending, or shortening homelessness. As well, the perception of being able to return home safely has been found to be a critical factor towards the successful exiting of homelessness.

In this literature review we provide a broad summary of the state of academic knowledge on youth homelessness. Using a thematic approach with attention to the development of research over time, this work examines important developments in the academic interdisciplinary literature on youth homelessness between 1990 and 2021. Reflective of the overall focus of the literature on youth experiences with homelessness, a significant portion of this review has been dedicated to examining the specific pathways into and out of youth homelessness in terms of the larger complex structural challenges and public systems, the interrelated experiences of abuse and victimization, trauma and PTSD, substance use, and mental health challenges, as well as individual family and community relations. Moreover, this review examines the significant body of work surrounding the negative implications of youth

involvement with the child welfare system and foster care and the need to respond to youth homelessness through direct access to housing in conjunction with individually tailored and integrated supportive services.

In recognizing the severe and often lasting harms that youth experience on their way to homelessness and while living as a homeless person, there is a growing shift in research focus towards the early detection of experiences of 'hidden homelessness' as well as prevention strategies and initiatives to promote sustainable exits from homelessness as a basic human right.

Although research has recently emerged focussing on diverse and intersectional experiences with youth homelessness, including members of the LGBTQ2+ community, Indigenous youth, and rural and northern community residents, there are significant gaps in the literature in these areas. This is particularly evident in areas of Indigenous youth experiences with homelessness given the often alarming overrepresentation of Indigenous people in measures of poverty and homelessness as well as in experiences with the child welfare and criminal justice systems in Canada. Within reserve, urban, and rural contexts, there is a clear and pressing need to conduct evidenced-based, Indigenous research aimed at broadening intervention responses from a continuum of access to shelter, social, and health supports to the inclusion of decolonizing practices through community, culture, and language resurgence towards a collective healing from intergenerational trauma and a reconstituting of Indigenous communities and Indigenous rights based governing practices.

4. PATHWAYS INTO AND OUT OF YOUTH HOMELESSNESS

4.1 Complex Structural Challenges

In terms of the many pathways into youth homelessness, research over the last two decades points to a generalized understanding that youth homelessness is a broad-based, structural, and systemic social challenge that is not the result of an isolated, sectoral failure but rather a coming together of interrelated conditions across individual and family relations, community conditions and institutional failures. Thus, a comprehensive approach that includes an array of individual, community based, and government stakeholders is needed to adequately address this challenge (Riden & Jones, 2011). Although individual characteristics may motivate some young people's homeless experiences, most face considerable barriers to exiting due to

systems and institutions and the situational forces related to their homelessness experiences (Sample & Ferguson, 2019).

In recent work by Schwan et al. (2018), youth experiencing homelessness identified six structural challenges to ending homelessness, including poverty, lack of housing, colonization, inequity and discrimination, harmful societal values and beliefs, and adverse childhood experiences. Moreover, they highlighted five key systems that needed to develop policies, protocols, and practices to better prevent youth homelessness; these included education, child welfare, healthcare and addictions, the youth homelessness sector, and criminal justice. Finding similar outcomes, the 2019 study by Sample and Ferguson reported the following structural barriers faced by youth experiencing homelessness included inadequate resources to address homelessness, employment challenges, discrimination by law enforcement, climate, lack of transportation, and legal concerns. Situational barriers were further identified such as interpersonal relationships, the street environment, and lack of personal resources; while individual challenges included behavioural, mental, and physical health challenges, a reluctance to reach out for help, money management issues, and a lack of desire for stable housing (Sample & Ferguson, 2019).

4.2 Child Welfare and the Criminal Justice System as Pathways into Homelessness

Experiences with the justice and the child welfare systems, particularly foster care, combined with a generalized lack of access to affordable and sustainable housing are understood to be critical contributing factors in youth homelessness (Cheng et al., 2013; Maycock & Corr, 2013; Maycock, Corr, O'Sullivan, 2011; Shah et al., 2017). Earlier work by Fowler et al. (2009) found a clear need for housing interventions designed to prevent homelessness among adolescents who were leaving the foster care system as more than two fifths of study participants experienced enduring housing problems following their exit from foster care (Fowler et al., 2009). Britton & Pilnik (2018) highlighted the relationship between transitioning out of the child welfare and juvenile justice systems and experiences with couch surfing, living on the streets, and access to emergency shelters due to a failure of the service providers to plan for the possible challenges that youth could face upon exiting these systems (2018).

In 2010, Brown & Wilderson found that youth transitioning out of foster care were frequently faced with a number of distinct challenges, including being disconnected from family, friends, and other caring adults. Other challenges relating to missed opportunities to prepare for independent living included the inability to gradually acquire life skills over time, having lower education than required by employment opportunities, and having mental health challenges relating to their histories of abuse and neglect (2010). This very vulnerable time of transitioning out of care was further identified by Maycock &Corr, (2013) as a serious long-term threat to youth; which could be mitigated by the provision of careful long term planning within the context of stable and affordable housing (2013). Subsequent work by Bender et al. (2015) found that youth with a history of foster care were generally living in precarious situations, characterized as dangerous and unstable, and that they required significant support in the areas of education, income generation, mental health, and substance use treatment; with foster youth reporting greater childhood maltreatment and a longer duration of homelessness. Furthermore, a recent study by Tyler et al. (2020), found that numerous primary stressors such as the number of times youth ran away from home and the frequency of foster care placements were associated with anxiety, total duration of homelessness, and street victimization (2020).

4.3 No Exit into Homelessness: Better Support to Transitioning Out of the Child Welfare and Criminal Justice Systems

Given the identified links between youth homelessness and experience with foster care as well as the related challenges of abuse, addiction, trauma, and PTSD, a significant amount research has been dedicated to responding to the needs of youth transitioning out of foster care and the criminal justice system. Early work from Jamieson & Flatau (2009) and Fowler et al. (2009) advocated for permanence planning and effective care arrangements to reduce multiple placements and for the inclusion of caring adults or youth workers who consistently provide services to individuals with high needs. In preparation for leaving care, agencies need to ensure that individuals do not experience exits from care into homelessness and that every young person in care or who has had a significant period in care is provided with education and preventative support and planning for independent living from the age of fourteen through to leaving care and afterwards as well (Jamieson & Flatau, 2009).

Maycock et al. (2011) identified factors, events, and experiences that facilitated youth transition out of foster care. Among these, access to appropriate and affordable housing was critical; infrequent movement between short-term, emergency or other unstable living situations

was a second important factor. Also these researchers identified access to and engagement with drug treatment, education/training, and familiar supports as strong indicators of a successful transition out of foster care. Building upon this work, Bender et al. (2015) highlighted the connection between youth experiences with foster care, abuse, and corresponding trauma; they recommended improving services designed to enhance foster youths' abilities to seek and maintain housing and formal employment, to avoid victimization, and to encourage mental health and substance use engagement and treatment.

4.4 Interrelated Experiences: Abuse and Victimization, Trauma and PTSD, Substance Use, and Mental Health Challenges

Independent of experiences with the child welfare and/or justice systems, the literature further points to some of the more common mental health challenges faced by youth experiencing homelessness including, depression, anxiety, attachment disorders, and Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) (Brown & Wilderson, 2010). More recent work has further found that youth experiencing homelessness often faced serious risks including victimization, substance use and abuse, poor nutrition, and limited access to primary healthcare and other services; with a higher rate of suicide and mortality existing among youth who are experiencing homelessness (Scott et al., 2019; Gauvin et al., 2019). According to this work, the majority of street youth in Canada report experiencing physical, sexual and/or emotional abuse in their families of origin, abuse that started, on average, at 12 years old and continued for four to six years prior to the youth leaving home (2019).

A recent study by Dawson-Rose et al. (2020) further found a high incidence of trauma, mental health challenges, and substance abuse. These authors report that almost all participants experienced at least one adverse childhood experience (ACE), with a significant majority experiencing four or more. Most participants reached the diagnostic threshold for post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), depression, and moderate anxiety which were all significantly correlated with use of opioids and stimulants (Dawson-Rose et al., 2020). A recent study by Abdel-Baki et al. (2019) found that youth living with homelessness are particularly vulnerable to psychological distress, substance use, and premature mortality caused by suicide and drug overdose.

In their work on the relationship between youth homelessness and treatment for substance use, trauma, and Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD), Davis et al. (2019) found

PTSD to be a driving factor that both directly and indirectly influences experiences of homelessness post-treatment. They argue that interventions should incorporate trauma informed approaches for youth entering treatment as this can mitigate long-term experiences of homelessness (Davis et al., 2019). Moreover, recent work by Glover et al., (2019) further found some initial efficacy in delivering automated mental health resources via smartphone technology for youth experiencing homelessness and mental health challenges and recommended further research in this area.

The literature further points to the need for programs and services that specifically target young women and men who have experienced abuse, given their high risk of revictimization (Tyler et al., 2004). If youth are using substances to cope, intervention programs that teach alternative coping strategies, such as utilizing counselling and developing problem-solving skills, may result in lowering their risk of revictimization as well as their likelihood of developing substance abuse problems (Kidd & Carroll, 2007). Because youth experiencing homelessness often feel depressed and lonely, having supportive ties, positive role models, and other social supports has been shown to bolster their mental health (Tyler & Schmitz, 2017).

4.5 Importance of Family and Peer Supports

Family and peer support overall have been identified in a number of studies as vital for preventing, ending, or shortening homelessness (Brakenhoff et al., 2015 ; Gasior. Et al., 2018; Maycock et al., 2011; Milburn et al., 2009; Rice & Rhoades, 2013; Tyler et al., 2020). According to Tevendale et al., 2011), a young person's perception of being able to return home was found to be a significant measure of the likelihood that they will be able to successfully exit homelessness. Recent work by Kidd, Vitopoulos, Frederick, Daley, Peters et al., (2019) found that, due to the efficacy of peer support interventions, incorporating this aspect should not be an afterthought. Rather these researchers stressed that it is imperative to include peers in program planning and delivery (2019). In addition, if youth can stay connected to home-based social relationships, they have a greater chance of reintegrating into society, as opposed to becoming embedded in high risk street life and associated practices (Tyler et al., 2020).

4.6 Integrated, Individualized, and Youth Driven Intervention Plans

Given the broad-based, structural, and interrelated conditions and institutional failures that lead to youth homelessness, as identified above, there are diverse pathways out of

homelessness that will require uniquely determined types of services, supports, and interventions in order to be successful. As such there is a need for an integrated structural, systemic and evidence-based response to youth homelessness that develops a shared conceptual framework for all systems, institutions, and workers to guide systems planning and implementation efforts. There is a need to move beyond a willingness to simply working together and towards the enabling of a day-to-day and big-picture integration of policies, processes, programs and practices (Nichols & Doberstein, 2016). In response to the complexity and diversity of contributing factors and individual experiences, a widely shared finding within youth homelessness literature is the need for individually tailored treatment plans (Fowler et al. 2009; Anderson, 2013; Lapinski, 2019; Karabanow, 2014; Maycock, Corr, O'Sullivan, 2011; Maycock & Parker, 2017; Riden & Jones, 2011; Roy et al., 2014; Schwan, French, Gaetz, Ward, Akerman, et al., (2018). In the early work of Fowler et al. (2009), intensive case management and comprehensive assessments were recommended as a way to inform individually tailored treatment plans given the variance in the types and quantities of services needed by young people experiencing homelessness.

This approach to intervention was further recommended to extend access to affordable housing as well as to the provision of educational services tailored to meet the unique needs of youth living with homelessness such that collaborative efforts between housing and education should also be included in permanent supportive housing initiatives (Anderson, 2013). Moreover, the recent work of Schwan et al. (2018) stressed the importance of an integrated and youth driven approach which respects youth agency in addressing their own housing needs through the provision of responsive, individually tailored support.

According to the early work of Dworsky (2010), despite inadequate funding, much can be done to support youth transitioning to adulthood while homeless or precariously housed without family support. Partnering with transitional housing programs and integrating life skills training, education and workforce development, physical and mental health services, and strong relationships with trusted and caring adults was found to be effective in addressing youth homelessness (Dworsky, 2010). The transition to stable housing plays a significant role in youth efforts to reduce drug consumption and maintain a regime of abstinence. This finding is consistent with recent literature on the *Housing First* approach to homelessness where the provision of independent accommodation is an important part of motivating people to take control of their own lives (Maycock et al., 2011). The efficacy of this approach when applied to youth homelessness was further corroborated by the work of Cheng et al. (2013) which found

that the success of the *Housing First* model has demonstrated that improved health outcomes and well-being can be achieved through the provision of well-managed and fully supported housing.

4.7 From Emergency Response to An Integrated Approach to Prevention

In keeping with the work of Schwan et al. (2018) which stressed that the current emergency-focused response to youth homelessness was not only failing to intervene effectively in youth homelessness, but in effect contributing to the problem, Gaetz et al (2018) advocated for a shift in the focus of research away from exploring better responses to youth homelessness. They argue for a more proactive model of early identification and prevention aimed at reducing the likelihood that a young person will experience homelessness. A more effective approach will also focus the necessary supports on stabilizing housing, improving their wellbeing, connecting with community, and avoiding re-entry into homelessness. Youth homelessness prevention thus necessitates the immediate provision of housing and supports for youth experiencing homelessness as part of a rights based approach to addressing the unique needs of developing adolescents and young adults (Gaetz et al., 2018). According to this work, ending youth homelessness involves recognizing the duty to intervene/assist and is made up of five parts: structural prevention, systems prevention, early intervention, eviction prevention, and housing stabilization as outlined in Box 1 below.

Box 1: Elements of an Approach to Ending Homelessness

Structural prevention	poverty reduction increasing the availability of affordable housing addressing inequity and discrimination structural prevention of homelessness for indigenous youth breaking the link between youth homelessness, migration, and displacement promoting social inclusion for all youth preventing adverse childhood experiences youth homelessness prevention legislation & policy
Systems prevention	transitional supports for youth exiting public institutions and systems improving availability, access, affordability and appropriateness of public systems, supports, and entitlements for homeless and at-risk youth improving youth's experiences and outcomes in public systems.
Early intervention	enhancing family and natural supports school based early intervention, shelter diversion, housing-led supports preventing sexual exploitation and trafficking.
Eviction prevention	creating legislation that protects tenants financial supports practical and legal advice targeted and timely crisis intervention.
Housing stabilization	busing supports supports for health and wellbeing access to education and income enhancing social inclusion.

Source: Gaetz et al., 2018, p. 10

According to Gaetz et al. (2018), a statutory duty to intervene is not met by referring a young person to an emergency shelter or other homelessness services, but rather requires ending the person's experience of homelessness or stabilizing their housing. Implementing a statutory *duty to assist* means that the public authorities have a legal duty to ensure that young people are provided with information, advice, and housing-led supports so as to avoid an experience of homelessness, or to shorten the duration of the experience.

In addition to a shifting towards a preventative and rights-based approach to youth homelessness research, recent work has also turned to focussing on the individual strengths possessed by youth (strength profiling) whom have been able to successfully exit homelessness. Recent work by Thulien et al. (2019) found that in spite of youth's remarkable resolve and determination in creating new identities as normative, self-sufficient emerging adults, they were nonetheless very fragile and at high risk of returning to homelessness. This work further found that current supports for young people transitioning away from homelessness were well-meaning but stigmatizing in terms of location (e.g., homeless shelters) and emphasis (e.g., housing-focused), with limited attention paid to the relationship between identity and meaningful social integration. Moreover, these researchers suggested that affirming individual youth qualities and strengths (alongside the provision of fundamental supports such as housing and employment) can support transitions out of homelessness and make a significant impact in preventing homelessness from reoccurring (2019). In response to this work, Gaetz et al. (2019) underscored the need to support youth strength-focussed research in conjunction with the integration of housing supports and healthcare services towards enhanced health outcomes while simultaneously easing the burden of emergency service used by young people who are homeless (2019).

4.8. Supporting Access to an Integrative Health Network

There is a growing body of research that is focussing on the significant health challenges and inequities associated with youth homelessness. According to the recent work of Scott et al. (2019), the many interrelated hardships of homelessness itself puts the health and well-being of youth at significant risk. Specifically, homeless youth have been found to be at greater risk of injection drug use and high rates of HIV risk behavior, including sex-work and engaging in unprotected sex (Cheng et al., 2013). In addition to the prevalence of victimization and abuse, substance use, and mental health challenges among youth experiencing homelessness as discussed above, Scott and associates (2019) reported serious health risks associated with poor nutrition and limited access to primary and secondary healthcare services.

According to the work of Karamouzian et al. (2019), there is a high prevalence of a *perceived devaluation* among youth who are experiencing homelessness; which can lead to a reluctance to seek out key services and which suggests the need to implement stigma reduction interventions for vulnerable youth. Moreover, while emergency health service usage remains high for youth experiencing homelessness, access to standard mental health services can be

challenging and often falls short of the requirements for providing integrated and effective care (Morrisseau-Guillot et al., 2020). What is required instead is the creation of integrated health networks to facilitate seamless access to diverse youth services through enhanced continuity and collaboration such that there can be 'no wrong door' or 'wrong timing' for someone seeking help (Abdel-Baki et al., 2019; Morrisseau-Guillot et al., 2020).

In their work with the Réseau d'Intervention de Proximité Auprès des Jeunes de la rue (RIPAJ), Abdel-Baki et al. (2019) highlighted the importance of early identification, a rapid response to help seeking and referrals, system navigation services, encouraging contact with families and friends, and including youth in service planning as critical factors in the development of an integrated network of health services to youth experiencing homelessness (2019). According to Morrisseau-Guillot et al. (2020), the success of RIPAJ stems from its *one-stop* shop integrated approach to psychological and health care services, substance-use disorder (SUD) services, and case management as well as its practice of developing mutually beneficial service relationships that respect each member organization's areas of strength and expertise (Morrisseau-Guillot et al., 2020).

5. INTERSECTIONALITY AND VULNERABILITY

In addition to considering the issues discussed above, three aspects of vulnerability amongst young people living with homelessness are important in this project. In addition to gender, issues for LGBTQ2+ youth, rural youth and Indigenous youth will be considered using an intersectionality lens in the project. The following sections provide an overview of the issues for three groups.

5.1 Gender and Homelessness

Research suggests that girls and young women comprise between a third to nearly half of young people living with homelessness (Kidd et al., 2017; Prock & Kennedy, 2020). Considerable research has explored the influence of gender on experiences of homelessness. Santa Maria (2015) showed differences in the issues emphasized by female and male youth living with homelessness. For example, female youth more often raised self-reliance, risky sex, and sex work, while male youth more often discussed stigma and substance use. Kidd et al.

(2017) found that female youth were less satisfied with their physical and mental health. In a study of Indigenous youth homelessness, Kidd, Thistle., et al., (2019) noted that, among cisgender Indigenous youth experiencing homelessness, females had an earlier age of first homelessness, more psychiatric symptoms, more prestreet physical and sexual abuse and more street physical and sexual assault. The final report of the National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls (2019) emphasized the critical risk factors for Indigenous women and girls who live with homelessness. These risk factors include racism and discrimination, challenges with education, unemployment, loss of Indigenous culture and lands, family violence, lack of access to affordable housing and shelters and intergenerational impacts of poverty. Similarly, the earlier work of Dhilion (2011) underscored the importance of recognizing the needs of girls and young women living with poverty and homelessness to escape violence, find safety in living circumstances, and gain access to food and health services. Gender must be considered as a vital factor impacting on the experiences of young people living with homelessness.

5.2 LGBTQ2+ Youth Experiencing Homelessness

In keeping with recent literature on the importance of better integrated, individualized, and youth driven intervention plans (Fowler et al., 2009; Anderson, 2013; Lapinski, 2019; Maycock, O'Sullivan, Corr, 2011; Maycock & Parker, 2017; Riden & Jones, 2011; Roy et al., 2014; Schwan et al., 2018)., there is a significant need to better support LGBTQ2+ youth who are experiencing homelessness. McKenzie's early work, (1999) recommended the specific development of inclusive and holistic care plans that are responsive to the distinct needs of this group and which are guided by definitive policies and evidence based research. Four main themes specific to LGBTQ2+ youth experiencing homelessness included (1) stigma, discrimination and exclusion, (2) mental health and substance use challenges, (3) sexual risks and vulnerability, and (4) uniquely tailored interventions and supports (1999). McCann and Brown's later work (2019) found that LGBTQ2+ youth living with homelessness to be a major public health concern and that self-identifying as LGBTQ2+ had significant consequences for a young person's physical and psychosocial well-being, given the pervasiveness of anti-LGBTQ2+ prejudice and discrimination.

5.3. Rural Youth Homelessness and Migration

Although more research is needed in this area, recent work suggests that youth experiencing homelessness in rural contexts face a number of unique challenges. Drawing on the earlier work of Edwards et al., (2009), Luckawiecki et al., (2019) suggest that there may be higher rates of parental alcohol and drug abuse, parental unemployment, and domestic abuse in rural areas, which can exacerbate the already difficult circumstances of youth experiencing homelessness (2019). Rural youth affected by homelessness also tend to be more mobile than their urban counterparts, due to the distance that must be travelled for services and the instability of available housing options (Gaetz, 2014; Kauppi et al., 2017). In a 2018 study of youth homelessness in northeastern Ontario Kauppi et al. found that the top five reasons for homelessness were addictions, job loss, inability to pay rent or mortgage, unsafe housing conditions or conflict with a spouse or partner (2018). In this study, a substantial number of people indicated that they had health issues; the most prevalent issue was addictions or substance use, while more than a third of the participants indicated that they had been involved in the child welfare system including foster care or a group home (2018).

In contrast to the often highly visible nature of urban youth homelessness, recent work by Karamouzian et al. (2019) found that rural youth homelessness is often invisible in the public and institutional sense. With a general lack of services compared the urban context, rural youth living with homelessness are forced to rely on local social networks to survive, but these are inadequate for young people who must cope with homelessness for extended periods of time. This work recommended rural-specific supportive services; which can be tailored to the unique needs of this increasingly visible homeless population (2019). Moreover, recent research by Luckawiecki et al (2019), further indicates that Indigenous peoples are particularly at risk when it comes to rural youth homelessness.

5.4. Indigenous Youth Homelessness

Understanding the alarming over-representation of Indigenous people[1] in homeless populations in Canada, where Indigenous people are on average eight times more likely to

---

[1] Regarding terminology, *Indigenous* is used in this literature review as an inclusive term that recognizes the diversity between and within Indigenous communities. As such, the term Indigenous is used to encompass distinctions in Indigenous nationhood, as well as the Canadian legal terms *Aboriginal* and *Indian*, with *Aboriginal* being defined in the Constitution Act, 1982, section 35(2) as including the

experience homelessness than non-Indigenous people,[2] requires an analysis of the larger oppressive structure of colonization. Understood broadly, Indigenous homelessness is defined as 'the outcome of historically constructed and ongoing settler colonization and racism that have displaced and dispossessed First Nations, Métis and Inuit Peoples from their traditional governance systems and laws, territories, histories, worldviews, ancestors and stories' (Thistle, 2017, p. 6). Addressing Indigenous homelessness therefore requires a broadening of responses from a continuum of access to shelter, social, and health supports to the inclusion of decolonizing practices through community, culture, and language resurgence. Ending Indigenous homelessness therefore entails healing from layered, intergenerational trauma as part of a reconstitution of Indigenous communities and cultural, spiritual identities (2017).

The majority of Indigenous reserves exist in a state of tremendous deficiency with respect to both housing and infrastructure (Patrick, 2014). Lack of plumbing and electricity, poor insulation, toxic mould, substandard construction, lack of major repairs and overcrowding continue to devastate a large proportion of reserves and severely impact the quality of life of residents (2014). The 2006 Census revealed that over half (53 percent) of on-reserve Aboriginal households were living in homes that did not meet adequacy or suitability standards, meaning these homes either needed major repairs or were crowded (2014). This is a much higher percentage than off-reserve Aboriginal households (22 percent living below the same acceptability standards), or all households in Canada (13 percent living below the same acceptability standards) (2014). One third (33 percent) of the on-reserve Aboriginal households who were living in 'unacceptable' housing (i.e., in terms of condition or size) did not have sufficient income to access acceptable housing. This number increased five percent from 2001 to 2006 and captures the troubling reality that the number of Aboriginal households trapped in substandard on-reserve housing (due to low income) is growing. In addition, Alcantara (2005) reveals that most First Nations bands face a chronic shortage of actual housing units, which may shed light on both overcrowding and migration to urban areas. Monette et al. (2009: 42) state that, "the [housing] situation for First Nations peoples living off-reserve and Inuit and Métis

_____

Indian, Inuit, and Métis peoples of Canada and *Indian* referring to persons who are registered under the Indian Act of Canada. When necessary for clarity in meaning, more specific terms for *Indigenous* are included in this paper.

[2] For sources on the over-representation of Indigenous people in the homelessness population in Canadian cities, see *Definition of Indigenous Homelessness in Canada* by J. Thistle (2017) at: https://www.homelesshub.ca/sites/default/files/attachments/COHIndigenousHomelessnessDefinition.pdf

people is not much better." On- and off-reserve housing issues cannot be examined in isolation from one another, as they are inextricably linked through history, policies and migration.

Two recent studies on homelessness in First Nation communities in northern eastern Ontario revealed the consequences of this systemic discrimination against Indigenous people. The higher prevalence of homelessness in comparison with a non-Indigenous urban community reflects the chronic underfunding of housing for First Nation people (Kauppi et al., 2015). The findings from this work pointed to the reality of homelessness and the lack of access to decent, affordable housing as a serious and pressing issues for all communities in northeastern Ontario. However, the living circumstances for Indigenous people, whether they reside on reserve or in urban centres 'raise serious concerns about Canada's lack of attention to the basic human right of people to adequate housing' (Kauppi et al., 2015, p. 20).

The need for affordable and safe housing for urban Indigenous peoples is long-standing and well documented. The original 1981 Ontario Urban Aboriginal Task Force found that, housing was identified as among the most serious of unmet needs faced by Indigenous peoples living in the city (Maidman, 1981). In 1996, RCAP found that 33 per cent of urban area Aboriginal households were in core need (lacked adequacy, suitability and affordability), compared to 17 per cent of non-Aboriginal households. The most prevalent problem was shelter affordability, with all CMAs from Winnipeg to Victoria reporting shelter costs exceeding 30 per cent of household income in about four of 10 Aboriginal households (Erasmus, 1996: 468). At least eight of 11 CMAs reported that 60 per cent or more of single-mother households had shelter costs exceeding this affordability index; represented almost one-third of Indigenous households with an affordability problem, (1996: 468).

The 2007 Urban Aboriginal Task Force further identified adequate and affordable housing as a major challenge related to high incidents of poverty, unemployment, single-parent families and anti-Indigenous racism in the housing sector. According to the 2007 study, in spite of long-term residency and some degree of economic prosperity for a minority segment of the urban Indigenous population, housing that integrates a diversity of support services was found to be a significant unmet need for community members such as seniors, youth, single mothers and those with disabilities (McCaskill & Fitzmaurice, 2007). Poor housing conditions (such as poor state of repair, overcrowding, involuntary residential mobility, monthly expenditure on housing, and insecurity) are closely connected to poverty and health; particularly respiratory illnesses (Walker, 2010; Belanger et al., 2012). For children, the quality of housing can impact their long-term educational and health outcomes (Anderson, 2013: 107; Walker 2010).

The 2009 National Aboriginal Housing Association (NAHA) report, 'A Time for Action' examined urban Indigenous housing needs in terms of its relationship to poverty, education and employment, and experiences with discrimination, and call for a 'an integrative approach' to address unmet social service needs (2009:17). The NAHA advocated for both the protection of existing urban Indigenous housing as well as its expansion (2009). In accordance with the principles of Indigenous control of Indigenous housing and through a combination of improvements to existing homes, new construction and acquisition, rental assistance, as well as supports for home ownership, NAHA identified the need for an overall strategy that includes 4,000 new homes annually, of which 1,000 will be dedicated to transitional and supportive housing to directly intervene in homelessness (2009).

The Toronto Aboriginal Research Project (TARP) affirmed many of the NAHA findings in terms of the high demand and limited availability of Indigenous housing units overall as well as the significant need for transitional, supportive housing for community members looking to transition out of shelters, addiction treatment centres and homelessness (McCaskill and Fitzmaurice, 2012). While highlighting the need for supports for home ownership for a minority of community members, the TARP report further identified the lack of safe and affordable Indigenous housing as an unmet core need that negatively impacts all facets of daily living and is considered a key social determinate of health (2012).

Focussing on Indigenous youth experiences with homelessness, recent work by Baskin (2019) found a strong link between children growing up in poverty, involvement in child welfare, and becoming homeless; with poverty as a direct result of colonization and the destruction of the original economic base of Indigenous communities (Baskin, 2019). Furthermore, this study pointed to the practice of Indigenous self-determination and self-government in both research methodology and in the provision of supportive youth services to address homelessness (2019). In keeping with the findings of the Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls Final Report (2019), the work of Bingham pointed to the distinct experiences of colonization and Indigenous women such that housing policies and services are urgently needed that take Indigenous colonial contexts, trauma and gender into account when addressing Indigenous youth homelessness (Bingham, 2019). Moreover, Kidd,Thistle., et al., (2019) found greater mental health and addiction challenges among Indigenous youth experiencing homelessness compared with non-Indigenous youth. This work further pointed to evidence of a stronger relationship of child protection to Indigenous homelessness, which is particularly evident for youth having grown up on reserve (2019).

Many Indigenous youth migrate from remote/rural to urban settings to escape adverse circumstances or to seek better access to education, employment, health and social services. However, challenges including racism and stigma, leave youth without the means to acquire support when needed (Carli, 2013). In unfamiliar urban destinations, youth must navigate new social environments and adapt their cultural practices, lifestyles, and economic expectations to fit in. Indigenous youth tend to be more mobile than non-Indigenous youth and move more often than older populations of Indigenous people (Quinless & Manmohan, 2016). Once living in the city, urban Indigenous community members tend to maintain active connections with rural communities of origin for a diversity of social, economic, and cultural reasons (Habibis, (2011); McCaskill & Fitzmaurice, 2007; McCaskill & Fitzmaurice, 2012). Nonetheless, high mobility rates are often linked to unstable housing conditions and disconnection from friends and family, with frequent movements disrupting youth's ability to develop/sustain social support and feel any sense of belonging (Goodman, Snyder & Wilson, 2018). Given that nearly half (44 percent) of the Indigenous population in Canada is under age 25, compared to 28 percent of the non-Indigenous population (Statistics Canada, 2018), it is increasingly important to understand the interactions between mobility and homelessness for the Indigenous youth population and make comparisons to non-Indigenous youth.

Youth without stable housing often report high levels of physical, emotional, and mental health problems, including depression, suicidal behaviour, posttraumatic stress disorders, and conduct disorders (Thompson et al., 2010). Indigenous youth specifically experience mental health issues, addictions and street violence more often than their non-Indigenous counterparts (Kidd et al., 2018). Moreover, female and sexual and gender minority youth are particularly at risk among Indigenous youth and child protection history and street-victimization were particularly relevant to their experiences with homelessness. The overall findings reinforce calls for Indigenous-specific interventions for these populations which address colonization Kidd, Thistle, et al., 2019). An intersectional approach can be useful in examining the how various aspects of young people's identities combine and lead to differing experiences of discrimination or privilege.

6. FUTURE AREAS OF STUDY AND ENGAGING YOUTH IN LONGITUDINAL RESEARCH

According to Gaetz (2018), the last two decades have seen a shift in research on youth homelessness towards the emphasis of more publicly funded, evidence based and collaborative work across diverse social sectors as well as internationally. Moreover, there has been an increasing shift in focus from a crisis response to one that focuses on early detection, prevention and sustainable exits. To this end, future research must include a focus on better understanding 'hidden homelessness' among children and youth so as to prevent the transition to chronic and visible homelessness (Maycock & Corr, 2013; Gaetz, 2018). Youth homelessness research is also increasingly engaging with questions of intersectionality and diversity, including Indigenous youth and LGBTQ2+ youth who are overrepresented in homeless populations (Gaetz, 2018).

While there exists an extensive body of knowledge regarding the risks associated with youth homelessness, very little work has addressed the process of exiting street contexts and the factors involved in the successful transition out of homelessness (Kidd, Vitopoulos, Frederick, Daley et al., 2019; Thulien et al., 2019). According to the work of Heerde & Hemphill (2019), future research exploring risk and protective factors in their association with a range of outcomes is also needed.

According to Kidd, Vitopoulos, Frederick, Daley et al., (2019) peer support has a lengthy history in health and community services with particular prominence in areas such as addictions and mental health services. However, this growth in emphasis and evidence has not translated to the area of youth peer support broadly nor peer support among homeless youth specifically, in spite of a growing emphasis on youth lived experience engagement—including peer support (2019). The study by Cooley et al. (2019) identified research in positive, 'strength-based' psychology as a future area for research as it was found that protective factors in homeless young people were embedded in their perceptions of character strengths and the meanings attached to them (2019).

Regardless of the focus of future research, one of the challenges facing researchers is maintaining contact with youth research participants across time periods. Many at-risk populations are prone to transience, making tracking difficult and increasing the likelihood of unacceptably high attrition rates" (Smith et al. 2020). According to Goldberg (2020),

Participatory Action Research (PAR) methodology is best suited to working with young people experiencing homelessness as it empowers participants as a process of listening to and respecting their ideas towards change and transformation (2020). PAR is however based in longer-term relationship building between researchers and participants which requires time and a degree of stability to build trust and a common vision; conditions not always achievable with the transient conditions of youth experiencing homelessness (Smith et al., 2020). It is further important to take a strengths-based approach where each young person is encouraged to work in a way that draws on their strengths and skills as well as acknowledging that youth who will engage in a three- or four-year project may be homeless or have recently transitioned out of homelessness, it is necessary to ensure their needs are met so they can fully participate (2020).

According to McKenzie (1999), building relationships and a sense of community among youth participants is a key element of longitudinal research. With appropriate planning it is possible to sustain contact with transient participants (1999). The provision of cell phones and regular calls or texts were found to be most successful in communicating with youth, with e-mail and Facebook messaging useful when phones were lost or stolen (Bender et al., 2014). The work of Hobden et al (2011) highlighted the need to collect as much collateral information as possible when conducting longitudinal research. Researchers are also advised to collect detailed information on the youth participants, such as social security and driver's license numbers, when possible; noting of course that trust and rapport must be established in order to collect this information (2011).

7. CONCLUDING COMMENTS AND EMERGING THEMES

Emerging over the last several decades, youth homelessness has become a significant social challenge in Canada. In this review, we have provided a summary of the related scholarly literature as it has developed over the last two decades. A substantial body of research has been dedicated to examining the diverse pathways into and out of youth homelessness in terms of the larger contributing societal structures and governmental systems, individual family and community relations, and mental health and addictions. Particular attention has been paid to the negative implications of experiences with the justice and child welfare systems and foster care in particular, as well as the importance of developing transitional and sustainable planning for youth aging out of these systems such that there are no direct exits into homelessness.

In keeping with the success of the *Housing First* model, research has further pointed to the need to respond to youth homelessness through the provision of accessible and sustainable housing in conjunction with supportive services which are uniquely tailored to youth needs and organized around a case management format. More recent research has expanded to include more diverse experiences with youth homelessness, including members of the LGBTQ2+ community, Indigenous youth, and rural and northern community residents. In recognizing the severe and often lasting harms that youth experience on their way into homelessness and while living as a homeless person, there is a growing shift in research towards early detection, prevention, and sustainable exit strategies that includes better supporting family relations and peer support as well as focussing on participatory action, Indigenous, and strength-based research methodologies. Some of the more prominent themes identified in the literature on youth homelessness in Canada are as follows.

- Youth homelessness is a broad-based, structural, and systemic social challenge that is not the result of an isolated, sectoral failure but rather a coming together of interrelated conditions across individual and family relations, community conditions and institutional failures.

- A widespread lack of access to affordable and sustainable housing along with experiences with the justice and the child welfare systems, particularly foster care, are understood to be driving factors behind youth homelessness.

- Youth experiencing homelessness often face serious risks including victimization and trauma, Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD), substance use and abuse, poor nutrition, and limited access to primary healthcare, mental health, and other services.

- The corresponding need to improve services focussed in this area, which enhance foster young people's abilities to seek out and maintain housing and formal employment, to avoid victimization, and to encourage mental health and substance use engagement and treatment should be widely available and trauma informed.

- The literature further points to the need for programs and services that specifically target young women and men who have experienced abuse, given their high risk of revictimization.

- There is a growing body of research that is focussing on the significant health challenges and inequities associated with youth homelessness.

- There is a need for an integrated structural, systemic and evidence-based response to youth homelessness that develops a shared conceptual framework for systems, institutions, and workers and which integrates policies, processes, programs and practices across all relevant sectors.

- Family and peer support overall has been identified in a number of studies as contributing to either preventing, ending, or shortening homelessness.

- Being able to return home safely has been found to be of critical importance when determining a young person's likelihood of transitioning out of homelessness.

- Given the complex nature of youth homelessness involving all levels of society, there are a multitude of possible pathways out of youth homelessness.

- Individualized, comprehensive assessments and interventions are necessary to inform individually tailored housing and social support and treatment plans given the variance in the types and quantities of services needed by young people experiencing homelessness.

- There is a shift in the focus of research from effective responses to youth homelessness to a more proactive model of early detection and prevention which recognizes accessible housing as a basic human right.

- There is an emerging interest in strength based and sustainable exits research that aligns well with this shift in focus to early detection and prevention.

- There is a growing body of research as well as an identified need for further work that recognizes the diversity and intersectionality of youth experiencing homelessness, including members of the LGBTQ2+ community, Indigenous youth, and rural and northern community residents.

- This is particularly evident in the area of Indigenous youth experiences with homelessness given the often-dramatic overrepresentation of Indigenous people in measures of poverty and homelessness in Canada where there is a clear need to broaden intervention responses to include decolonizing and trauma informed care which supports Indigenous rights and community-based governance practices.

- In northeastern Ontario specifically, the issues pertaining to Cree youth migration, especially from the James Bay lowlands, are poorly understood. Issues for other groups (Anishinaabe, Francophone, genderqueer, LGBTQ2+) in northern and rural places require further research.

- Given their relationship to the early detection and prevention of youth homelessness, family therapies and peer supports interventions have been identified as areas for future research.

- Participant Action Research as well as Indigenous Research methods have been identified as effective methodologies for work in these areas.

REFERENCES

Abdel-Baki, A., Aubin, D., Morisseau-Guillot, R., Lal, S., Dupont, M. È., Bauco, P. & Iyer, S. N. (2019). Improving Mental Health Services For Homeless Youth In Downtown Montreal, Canada: Partnership between a local network and ACCESS Esprits ouverts (Open Minds), a National Services Transformation Research Initiative. *Early intervention in psychiatry*, *13*, 20-28.

Alcantara, C. (2005). Certificates of Possession and First Nations Housing: A Case Study of the Six Nations Housing Program. *Canadian Journal of Law and Society*, 20(2),183-205.

Amore, K., Baker, & Howden-Chapman, P. (2011). The ETHOS Definition and Classification of Homelessness: An Analysis. *European Journal of Homelessness*. 5 (2), 19-37.

Anderson, J. (2003). Aboriginal Children In Poverty in Urban Communities: Social Exclusion and The Growing Racialization Of Poverty In Canada. Paper presented at the *Subcommittee on Children and Youth at Risk of the Standing Committee on Human Resources Development and the Status of Persons with Disabilities*, Ottawa, Canada. www.ccsd.ca/pr/2003/aboriginal.htm

Anderson, C.L. (2013). Opening Doors: Preventing Youth Homelessness Through Housing and Education Collaboration. *Seattle Journal for Social Justice*, *11*(2), 3.

Anaya, J. (2014). *Report of the Special Rapporteur on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, James Anaya. The Situation of Indigenous Peoples in Canada*. Geneva, Switzerland: United Nations Human Rights Council. Twenty-seventh session, 4 July 2014.

Baskin, C. (2019). Aboriginal Youth Talk About Structural Determinants as the Causes of Their Homelessness. *First Peoples Child & Family Review*, *14*(1), 94-108.

Belanger, Y. D., G. Weasel Head, and O. Awosoga. (2012). Housing and Homelessness of Urban Aboriginal People in Urban Centres. Ottawa: *National Association of Friendship Centres/Office of the Federal Interlocutor for Métis and Non-Status Indians*.

Bender, K., Begun, S., DePrince, A., Haffejee, B., & Kaufmann, S. (2014). Utilizing Technology for Longitudinal Communication with Homeless Youth. *Social Work in Health Care*, *53*(9), 865-882.

Bender, K., Yang, J., Ferguson, K., & Thompson, S. (2015). Experiences and Needs of Homeless Youth With A History of Foster Care. *Children and Youth Services Review*, *55*, 222-231.

Bingham, B., Moniruzzaman, A., Patterson, M., Sareen, J., Distasio, J., O'Neil, J., & Somers, J. M. (2019). Gender Differences among Indigenous Canadians Experiencing Homelessness and Mental Illness. *BMC psychology*, *7*(1), 57.

Brakenhoff, B., Jang, B., Slesnick, N., & Snyder, A. (2015). Longitudinal Predictors of Homelessness: Findings from the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth-97. *Journal of youth studies*, *18*(8), 1015-1034.

Britton, L., & Pilnik, L. (2018). Preventing Homelessness for System-Involved Youth. *Juvenile and Family Court Journal*, *69*(1), 19-33.

Brown, S., & Wilderson, D. (2010). Homelessness Prevention for Former Foster Youth: Utilization of Transitional Housing Programs. *Children and Youth Services Review*, *32*(10), 1464-1472.

Canadian Observatory on Homelessness (2012). *Canadian Definition of Homelessness*. Homeless Hub: www.homelesshub.ca/homelessdefinition/

Carli, V. (2013). The City as a 'Space of Opportunity': Urban Indigenous Experiences and Community Safety Partnerships. In Newhouse, D., Fitmaurice, K., McGuire-Adams, D., & Jette, D. (eds.), *Well-being in the Urban Aboriginal Community*: Fostering Biimaadiziwin (pp. 1-21). Toronto, ON: Thompson Educational

Cheng, T., Wood, E., Feng, C., Mathias, S., Montaner, J., Kerr, T., & DeBeck, K. (2013). Transitions Into and Out of Homelessness among Street-involved Youth in a Canadian Setting. *Health & place*, *23*, 122-127.

Cooley, S. J., Quinton, M. L., Holland, M. J., Parry, B. J., & Cumming, J. (2019). The Experiences of Homeless Youth when Using Strengths Profiling to Identify their Character Strengths. *Frontiers in Psychology*, *10*, 2036.

Curry, S., Morton,M., Matjasko,J., Dworsky, A., Samuels, G., and Schlueter, D. (2017). Youth Homelessness and Vulnerability : How Does Couch Surfing Fit ? *AM J Community Psychol,* 60, 17-24

Davis, J. P., Diguiseppi, G., De Leon, J., Prindle, J., Sedano, A., Rivera, D. & Rice, E. (2019). Understanding Pathways between PTSD, Homelessness, and Substance Use among Adolescents. *Psychology of Addictive Behaviors*, *33*(5), 467.

Dawson-Rose, C., Shehadeh, D., Hao, J., Barnard, J., Khoddam-Khorasani, L., Leonard, A. & Miller, A. (2020). Trauma, Substance Use, and Mental Health Symptoms in Transitional Age Youth Experiencing Homelessness. *Public Health Nursing*, *37*(3), 363-370.

Dhilion, J. (2011). Social Exclusion, Gender, and Access to Education in Canada: Narrative Accounts from Girls on the Street. *Feminist Formations*, Fall 2011, Vol. 23, No. 3, Educational Formations (Fall 2011), pp. 110-134.

Dworsky, A. (2010). Supporting Homeless Youth during the Transition to Adulthood: Housing-Based Independent Living Programs. *The Prevention Researcher*, *17*(2), 17-21.

Echenberg, H & Munn-Rivard, L. (2020). Defining and Enumerating Homelessness in Canada. *Parliamentary Information and Research Service*. Ottawa: Library of Parliament.

Edgar, B. & Meert, H. (2005). *Fourth Review of Statistics on Homelessness in Europe*. Brussels, Belgium: FEANTSA and European Observatory on Homelessness.

Eyrich-Garg, K., Callahan O'Leary, C. & Cottler, L. (2008). Subjective Versus Objective Definitions of Homelessness: Are there Differences in Risk Factors among Heavy Drinking Women? *Gender Issues*. 25, 173-192.

Erasmus, Georges, and René Dussault (1996). *Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples*. Ottawa: The Commission. Print.

FEANTSA. (2005). *ETHOS—Taking Stock*. European Federation of National Associations Working with the Homeless. Brussels, Belgium.

Fowler, P. J., Toro, P. A., & Miles, B. W. (2009). Pathways To and From Homelessness and Associated Psychosocial Outcomes among Adolescents Leaving the Foster Care System. *American Journal of Public Health*, *99*(8), 1453-1458.

Gaetz, S., Donaldson, J., Richter, T., & Gulliver, T. (2013). *The State of Homelessness in Canad*a. Retrieved from: http://homelesshub.ca/resource/state-homelessness-canada-2013

Gaetz, S. (2014). Coming of Age: Reimagining the Response to Youth Homelessness in Canada. Toronto: *The Canadian Homelessness Research Network Press*.

Gaetz, S., Schwan, K., Redman, M., French, D., & Dej, E. (2018). The Roadmap for the Prevention of Youth Homelessness - Executive Summary. A. Buchnea (Ed.). Toronto, ON: *Canadian Observatory on Homelessness Press.*

Gaetz, S. (2018). Reflections from Canada: Can research contribute to better responses to youth homelessness? *Cityscape*, 20(3), 139-146.

Gaetz, S., Ward, A., & Kimura, L. (2019). Youth Homelessness and Housing Stability: What Outcomes Should We Be Looking For? In *Healthcare Management Forum* (Vol. 32, No. 2, pp. 73-77). Sage CA: Los Angeles, CA: SAGE Publications.

Gauvin, G., Labelle, R., Daigle, M., Breton, J. J., & Houle, J. (2019). Coping, Social Support, and Suicide Attempts among Homeless Adolescents. *Crisis: The Journal of Crisis Intervention and Suicide Prevention.*

Gauvin, G., Labelle, R., Daigle, M., Breton, J. J., & Houle, J. (2020). Psychological Factors Strengthening Homeless Youths' Life Satisfaction. *Journal of Social Distress and Homelessness*, 1-10.

Gasior, S., Forchuk, C., & Regan, S. (2018). Youth Homelessness: The Impact of Supportive Relationships on Recovery. *Canadian Journal of Nursing Research*, 50(1), 28-36.

Glover, A. C., Schueller, S. M., Winiarski, D. A., Smith, D. L., Karnik, N. S., & Zalta, A. K. (2019). Automated Mobile Phone–Based Mental Health Resource for Homeless Youth: Pilot Study Assessing Feasibility and Acceptability. *JMIR mental health*, 6(10), e15144.

Goldberg, J. (1997). Mutuality in the Relationships of Homeless Women and Their Mothers. *AFFILIA* 12(1): 96-105.

Goodman, A., Snyder, M., & Wilson, K. (2018). Exploring Indigenous Youth Perspectives of Mobility and Social Relationships: A Photovoice Approach. *The Canadian Geographer/Le Géographe canadien*, 62(3), 314-325

Goldberg, D. A. (2020). Resistance, Action and Transformation in a Participatory Action Research (PAR) Project with Homeless Youth. *Handbook of Theory and Research in Cultural Studies and Education*, 1-19.

Grodzinski, E., Sutherns, R., Londerville, J., & Bentham, C. (2011). Rural Homeless Study. County of Wellington. *Report prepared for the County of Wellington.* Retrieved from: http://www.wellington.ca/en/socialservices/resources/wellingtoncountyruralhomelessnessstudy.pdf

Habibis, D. (2011). A Framework for Reimagining Indigenous Mobility and Homelessness. *Urban Policy and Research*, 29(4), 401-414.

Heerde, J. A., & Hemphill, S. A. (2019). Exploration of Associations Between Family and Peer Risk and Protective Factors and Exposure To Physically Violent Behavior Among Homeless Youth: A Meta-Analysis. *Psychology of violence*, 9(5), 491.

Hobden, K., Curtis Forney, J., Wyszacki Durham, K., & Toro, P. (2011). Limiting Attrition in Longitudinal Research on Homeless Adolescents: What Works Best? *Journal of Community Psychology*, 39(4), 443-451.

Jamieson, K., & Flatau, P. (2009). The Child Protection System and Homelessness Prevention and Early Intervention Strategies. *Parity*, 22(2), 15.

Karabanow, J., Caila, A., & Naylor, T. D. (2014). From Place to Space: Exploring Youth Migration and Homelessness in Rural Nova Scotia. *Journal of Rural and Community Development*, 9(2).

Karamouzian, M., Cheng, T., Nosova, E., Sedgemore, K., Shoveller, J., Kerr, T., & Debeck, K. (2019). Perceived Devaluation among a Cohort of Street-Involved Youth in Vancouver, Canada. *Substance Use & Misuse*, *54*(2), 324-330.

Kauppi, C., Pallard, H., & Faries, E. (2015). Poverty, Homelessness and Migration in Northeastern Ontario, Canada. *OIDA International Journal of Sustainable Development*, *8*(4), 11-22.

Kauppi, C., O'Grady, B., Schiff, R., Martin, F. and Ontario Municipal Social Services Association. (2017). Homelessness and Hidden Homelessness in Rural and Northern Ontario. Guelph, ON: *Rural Ontario Institute*.

Kauppi, C., Faries, E., Montgomery, P., & Hankard, M. (2018). Homelessness in Manitoulin-Sudbury: 2018 Enumeration. *Centre for Research in Social Justice and Policy*, Laurentian University.

Kidd SA, & Carroll MR (2007). Coping and suicidality among homeless youth. *Journal of Adolescence*, 30, 283–296.

Kidd, S. A., Karabanow, J., Hughes, J., & Frederick, T. (2013). Brief Report: Youth Pathways Out of Homelessness–Preliminary Findings. *Journal of Adolescence*, *36*(6), 1035-1037.

Kidd, S. A., Gaetz, S., & O'Grady, B. (2017). The 2015 National Canadian Homeless Youth Survey: Mental Health and Addiction Findings. *The Canadian Journal of Psychiatry*, *62(7)* 493-500.

Kidd, S. A., Thistle, J., Beaulieu, T., O'Grady, B., & Gaetz, S. (2019). A National Study of Indigenous Youth Homelessness in Canada. *Public health*, *176*, 163-171.

Kidd, S. A., Vitopoulos, N., Frederick, T., Daley, M., Peters, K., Clarc, K. & McKenzie, K. (2019). Peer Support in the Homeless Youth Context: Requirements, Design, and Outcomes. *Child and Adolescent Social Work Journal*, *36*(6), 641-654.

Kidd, S. A., Vitopoulos, N., Frederick, T., Leon, S., Karabanow, J., & McKenzie, K. (2019). More Than Four Walls and a Roof Needed: A Complex Tertiary Prevention Approach for Recently Homeless Youth. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, *89*(2), 248.

Lapinski, A. P. (2019). Barriers and Facilitators to Accessing and Utilizing Mental Health Services for Homeless Youth: A Systematic Review*. University of Central Florida: Stars*.

Luckawiecki, J., Sawatzky, A., Arsic, V., & Brown, D. (2019). Strategies for Engaging Youth Experiencing (or At Risk of) Homelessness in Rural Areas: Literature Review.

Maidman, F. (1981) Native People in the Urban Settings: Problems, Needs and Services. Toronto: Urban Ontario Task force on Native People in the Urban Settings.

Marpsat, M. (2005). Beyond Literal Homelessness. Paper presented at the *5th Cambridge University Health Partners (CUHP) Workshop*, Milan, April 21–22, 2005.

Maycock, P., Corr, M. L., & O'Sullivan, E. (2011). Homeless Young People, Families and Change: Family Support as a Facilitator to Exiting Homelessness. *Child & Family Social Work*, *16*(4), 391-401.

Maycock, P., O'Sullivan, E., & Corr, M. L. (2011). Young People Exiting Homelessness: An Exploration of Process, Meaning and Definition. *Housing Studies*, *26*(6), 803-826.

Maycock, P., & Corr, M. L. (2013). *Young People's Homeless and Housing Pathways: Key Findings from a 6-Year Qualitative Longitudinal Study*. Dublin, Ireland: Department of Children and Youth Affairs.

Maycock, P., & Parker, S. (2017). Living in Limbo: Homeless Young People's Paths to Housing. *Dublin: Focus Ireland.* Accessed March, 20, 2019.

McCann, E., & Brown, M. (2019). Homelessness among Youth Who Identify As LGBTQ+: A Systematic Review. *Journal of Clinical Nursing*, *28*(11-12), 2061-2072.

McCaskill, D. & Fitzmaurice, K. (2007). Urban Aboriginal Task Force: Final Report. Commissioned by The Ontario Federation of Indian Friendship Centres, *The Ontario Métis Aboriginal Association, and The Ontario Native Women's Association*. https://ofifc.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/03/2007-Urban-Aboriginal-Task-Force-UATF-Final-Report.pdf

McCaskill, D. & Fitzmaurice, K. (2012). Toronto Aboriginal Research Project. Toronto: *Toronto Aboriginal Support Services Council.* https://www.tassc.ca/uploads/1/2/1/5/121537952/tarp-final-report2011.pdf

McKenzie, M., Tulsky, J. P., Long, H. L., Chesney, M., & Moss, A. (1999). Tracking and Follow-Up of Marginalized Populations: A Review. *Journal of Health Care for the Poor and Underserved*, *10*(4), 409-429.

Milburn, N. G., Rice, E., Rotheram-Borus, M. J., Mallett, S., Rosenthal, D., Batterham, P. & Duan, N. (2009). Adolescents Exiting Homelessness Over Two Years: The Risk Amplification and Abatement Model. *Journal of Research on Adolescence, 19*(4), 762-785.

Monette, L., Rourke, S. B., Tucker, R., Greene, S., Sobota, M., Koornstra, J. & Guenter, D. (2009). Housing Status and Health Outcomes in Aboriginal People Living with HIV/AIDS in Ontario: The Positive Spaces, Healthy Places Study. *Canadian Journal of Aboriginal Community-based HIV/AIDS Research*, 2, 41-60.

Morisseau-Guillot, R., Aubin, D., Deschênes, J. M., Gioia, M., Malla, A., Bauco, P., & Abdel-Baki, A. (2020). A Promising Route Towards Improvement of Homeless Young People's Access to Mental Health Services: The Creation and Evolution of an Outreach Service Network in Montréal. *Community Mental Health Journal*, *56*(2), 258-270.

National Aboriginal Housing Association. (2009). *A Time for Action: A National Plan to Address Aboriginal Housing.* Ottawa: NAHA, 2009.

National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Girls and Women. (2019). *Reclaiming Power and Place: the Final Report of the National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls.* Canada. [Web Archive] Retrieved from the Library of Congress, https://www.loc.gov/item/lcwaN0028038/.

Nichols, N., & Doberstein, C. (2016). *Exploring Effective Systems Responses to Homelessness.* Toronto: Homeless Hub.

Patrick, Caryl. (2014). Aboriginal Homelessness in Canada: A Literature Review. Toronto: Canadian. *Homelessness Research Network Press.*

Prock, K. & Kennedy, A. (2020). Characteristics, experiences, and service utilization patterns of homeless youth in a transitional living program: Differences by LGBQ identity. Children and Youth Services Review, 116 105176.

Quinless, J. M., & Manmohan, R. (2016). Families in Transition: The Impact of Family Relationships and Work on Mobility Patterns of Aboriginal People Living in Urban Centres across Canada. *Aboriginal Policy Studies*, 5(2), 114-135.

Reeve, K. & Batty, E. (2011). *The Hidden Truth about Homelessness: Experiences of Single Homelessness in England.* London, UK: Crisis. www.crisis.org

Reach³. (2013). Housing Vulnerability and Health: Canada's Hidden Emergency. *Homeless Hub.* homelesshub.ca/housingvulnerabilityandhealth

Rice, E., & Rhoades, H. (2013). How Should Network-Based Prevention for Homeless Youth Be Implemented?. *Addiction (Abingdon, England), 108*(9), 1625.

Riden, M., & Jones, A. M. (2011). From the Streets to Stability: A Study of Youth Homelessness in the District of Columbia. *DC Alliance of Youth Advocates (DCAYA).*

Robson, R. (2008). Suffering an Excessive Burden: Housing as a Health Determinant in the First Nations Community of Northwestern Ontario. *The Canadian Journal of Native Studies* XXVIII, 1:71-87

Roy, É., Robert, M., Fournier, L., Vaillancourt, É., Vandermeerschen, J., & Boivin, J. F. (2014). Residential trajectories of street youth—the Montréal cohort study. *Journal of Urban Health*, *91*(5), 1019-1031.

Sample, K., & Ferguson, K. M. (2019). It Shouldn't Be This Hard: Systemic, Situational, and Intrapersonal Barriers to Exiting Homelessness among Homeless Young Adults. *Qualitative Social Work*, 1473325019836280.

Santa Maria, D., Narendorf, S. C., Yoonsook, H. & Bezette-Flores, N. (2015). Exploring Contextual Factors of Youth Homelessness And Sexual Risk Behaviors. *Perspectives on Sexual and Reproductive Health,* 47(4) 195-201.

Schwan, K., French, D., Gaetz, S., Ward, A., Akerman, J., Redman, M., & Stirling, T. (2018). Preventing Youth Homelessness: An International Review of Evidence. *The Wales Centre for Public Policy*.

Schwan, K., Gaetz, S., French, D., Redman, M., Thistle, J., & Dej, E. (2018). *What Would It Take? Youth across Canada Speak Out on Youth Homelessness Prevention*. Homeless Hub.

Scott, A., Lifeso, N., Piatt, C., Zhang, Y., & Cui, X. (2019). Youth homelessness: Risk Factors and Outcomes. *University of Calgary PRISM: University of Calgary's Digital Repository*. Downloaded from PRISM: https://prism.ucalgary.ca

Shah, M. F., Liu, Q., Mark Eddy, J., Barkan, S., Marshall, D., Mancuso, D., & Huber, A. (2017). Predicting Homelessness among Emerging Adults Aging Out of Foster Care. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, *60*(1-2), 33-43.

Smith, A., Peled, M., & Martin, S. (2020). Meaningfully Engaging Homeless Youth in Research. In *Clinical Care for Homeless, Runaway and Refugee Youth* (pp. 405-417). Springer, Cham.

Statistics Canada (2018). *First Nations People, Métis and Inuit in Canada: Diverse and Growing Populations*. https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/pub/89-659-x/89-659-x2018001-eng.htm

Tevendale, H. D., Comulada, W. S., & Lightfoot, M. A. (2011). Finding shelter: Two-year housing trajectories among homeless youth. *Journal of Adolescent Health*, *49*(6), 615-620.

Thistle, Jesse. (2017). Indigenous Definition of Homelessness in Canada. Toronto: *Canadian Observatory on Homelessness Press*, 2017.

Thompson, S. J., Bender, K., Windsor, L., Cook, M. S., & Williams, T. (2010). Homeless youth: Characteristics, contributing factors, and service options. *Journal of Human Behavior in the Social Environment*, 20(2), 193-217.

Thulien, N. S., Gastaldo, D., McCay, E., & Hwang, S. W. (2019). I Want to Be Able to Show Everyone That It Is Possible To Go From Being Nothing In The World To Being Something: Identity As A Determinant of Social Integration. *Children and Youth Services Review*, *96*, 118-126.

Tyler, K.A., Whitbeck, L.B., Hoyt, D.R. & Cauce, A.M. (2004). Risk factors for sexual victimization among male and female homeless and runaway youth. Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 19(5), 503-520

Tyler KA, & Schmitz RM (2017). Using cell phones for data collection: Benefits, outcomes, and intervention possibilities with homeless youth. *Children and Youth Services*, 76, 59–64. doi:10.1016/j.childyouth.2017.02.031

Tyler, K. A., & Schmitz, R. M. (2020). Childhood Disadvantage, Social and Psychological Stress, and Substance Use among Homeless Youth: A Life Stress Framework. *Youth & Society*, *52*(2), 272-287.

Walker, R. C. (2003). Engaging the Urban Aboriginal Population in Low-cost Housing Initiatives: Lessons from Winnipeg. *Canadian Journal of Urban Research*, 12(1), 2003: S99-S118.

Walker, Ryan. (2010). Housing and Health: What Is the Link? What Can Be Done? *Saskatoon Community Clinic.* Saskatoon: Saskatchewan.

Zerger, S., Strehlow, A. & Gundlapalli, A. (2008). Homeless Young Adults and Behavioral Health: An Overview. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 51 (6), 824-841.